

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ACDA-12 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-10 CIAE-00
DODE-00 EA-10 EUR-12 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NASA-01 NEA-11 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01
DOE-15 CEQ-01 OES-07 SS-15 ICA-11 ISO-00 /161 W
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R 240208Z MAY 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1526
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 02090

E.O.:11652:GDS
TAGS: PARM, PORG, UNGA, US, UK, UR
SUBJECT: SSOD- CALL ON AMB YOUNG BY LORD NOEL-BAKER
AND LORD GORONWY-ROBERTS

1. SUMMARY: LORD NOEL-BAKER AND LORD GORONWY-ROBERTS
CALLED ON AMB YOUNG ON MAY 23 TO DISCUSS PROSPECTS FOR
SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT (SSOD). THEY AGREED THAT
SPECIAL SESSION COULD RESULT IN MOBILIZATION OF PUBLIC
OPINION BEHIND PRACTICAL DISARMAMENT MEASURES. GORONWY-
ROBERTS EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN AT APPROACH NON-ALIGNED
MIGHT TAKE AT SSOD AND WONDERED IF SOVIETS WOULD FORMALLY
PROPOSE NEW NUCLEAR CONFERENCE INVOLVING MAJOR NON-NUCLEAR
AS WELL AS NUCLEAR STATES. HE NOTED BRITISH DISAPPOINT-
MENT AT US DECISION ON NEGATIVE NUCLEAR SECURITY
ASSURANCES. END SUMMARY.

2. MEMBERS OF UKDEL TO SSOD CALLED ON AMB YOUNG MAY 23 FOR
GENERAL DISCUSSION OF PROSPECTS FOR SPECIAL SESSION
SCHEDULED TO OPEN SAME AFTERNOON. BRITISH INCLUDED
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SPECIAL ADVISER LORD NOEL-BAKER, FCO MINISTER OF STATE
LORD GORONWY-ROBERTS, CCD AMB DERICK ASHE, FCO DISARMAMENT
CHIEF CHRISTOPHER MALLABY, AND PA TO GORONWY-ROBERTS J.L.
JONES. MISOFF JONES ALSO PRESENT.

3. GORONWY-ROBERTS (GR) OPENED CONVERSATION BY NOTING
DIFFERENCE IN APPROACH BY NON-ALIGNED AND WESTERN STATES,

WITH FORMER TAKING WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS "MORE COMPREHENSIVE VIEW" OF WHAT SSOD SHOULD SEEK TO DO. HE THOUGHT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO TRY TO OBTAIN ADVANCES ON MORE LIMITED ISSUES ON WHICH TRUE CONSENSUS WOULD BE POSSIBLE. AMB YOUNG EXPRESSED VIEW THAT SSOD COULD HELP CONSOLIDATE PUBLIC OPINION ON DISARMAMENT. HE SUGGESTED THAT THE PUBLIC GENERALLY FAVORED DISARMAMENT MEASURES AND THE SSOD MIGHT CREATE A NEW CLIMATE THAT WOULD BUILD UP PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR SUCH MATTERS AS A SALT II AGREEMENT AND CTB. GR AGREED AND THOUGHT WE SHOULD SEEK PRACTICAL RESULTS THAT WOULD WIN SUPPORT OF BOTH LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES.

4. NOTING BRITISH DISAPPOINTMENT AT US DECISION AGAINST PROPOSAL ON NEGATIVE NUCLEAR SECURITY ASSURANCES, GR SAID HE THOUGHT THIS HAD BEEN A MISTAKE. AMB YOUNG POINTED OUT DELICATE POSITION OF US AT PRESENT BUT THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO DO SOMETHING ON THIS QUESTION AFTER SALT II. GR EXPRESSED UNDERSTANDING OF OUR DIFFICULTY WITH TIMING.

5. GR EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN THAT NON-ALIGNED MIGHT BE TAKEN IN BY "SUPERFICIAL" SOVIET PROPOSALS THAT FAVOR "ALL THE THINGS THAT EVERYONE WANTS." HE HOPED IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO PREVAIL ON NON-ALIGNED TO SUPPORT PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENTS AS OPPOSED TO PROPAGANDA PROPOSALS. IN THIS CONNECTION HE ASKED WHETHER WE HAD HEARD ANYTHING MORE FROM THE SOVIETS ON THE SUGGESTION THEY HAD MADE TO AMB
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LEONARD ABOUT A NEW NUCLEAR CONFERENCE THAT WOULD INCLUDE ALL NUCLEAR STATES WISHING TO PARTICIPATE PLUS MAJOR NON-NUCLEAR STATES. YOUNG SAID WE HAD HEARD NOTHING FURTHER. GR WONDERED IF SOVIETS PLANNED TO PUT THIS IDEA FORWARD FORMALLY AT SSOD. MALLABY NOTED IT WOULD BE A "SUCCESS" WITH THE NON-ALIGNED IF PROPOSED. GR THOUGHT WEST WOULD NOT WISH TO "SHOOT IT DOWN" BUT NOTED A NUMBER OF UNANSWERED QUESTIONS: DID IT HAVE A DEFINED SUBJECT AREA? WOULD IT BE COMPLETELY DETACHED FROM OTHER NEGOTIATIONS SUCH AS SALT, CTB, MBFR? HE NOTED THAT EUROPE AND NATO WOULD HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY IF IDEA WAS TO DEAL WITH NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT ALONE, LEAVING CONVENTIONAL ARMS ASIDE. YOUNG AGREED THIS WOULD BE UNBALANCED AND EXPRESSED HOPE SOME OF THESE PROBLEMS COULD BE ADDRESSED DURING NATO SUMMIT. HE ALSO AGREED THAT SOVIET PROPOSALS OFTEN SOUND GOOD BUT ARE NOT PRACTICAL WHEN IT GETS DOWN TO SPECIFICS. NOEL-BAKER COMMENTED THAT BREZHNEV KOMSOMOL SPEECH HAD OFFERED VERY LITTLE AND WAS "VERY COLD". THIS PROPOSAL MIGHT "WARM IT UP" A BIT IN APPEALING TO NON-NUCLEAR STATES' DESIRE TO BE INCLUDED IN TALKS ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT.

6. MALLABY SUGGESTED THAT OBJECTIVE IN SSOD SHOULD BE TO SEEK CONSENSUS ON PROGRAM FOR RELATIVELY SHORT PERIOD, SUCH AS FIVE YEARS, AND TRY TO SHIFT MORE DIFFICULT PROPOSALS (E.G. TO OUTLAW NUCLEAR WEAPONS) TO LONGER-RANGE FUTURE. HE THOUGHT NON-ALIGNED WOULD NOT WANT THE SSOD, WHICH WAS THEIR INITIATIVE, TO END IN FAILURE AND THAT SUCH CONSENSUS WAS, THEREFORE POSSIBLE. YOUNG THOUGHT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO IDENTIFY AND ESTABLISH RAPPORT WITH THE NON-ALIGNED LEADERSHIP AT THE SPECIAL SESSION AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE. HE ALSO THOUGHT IT WAS IMPORTANT TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON REGIONAL ARMS RACES. MALLABY SAID INDIANS HAD INDICATED THEY WOULD NOT OPPOSE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 02090

A STUDY OF CONVENTIONAL ARMS BUILDUP (UNLIKE 1976 WHEN THEY HAD BLOCKED GA ACTION ON JAPANESE PROPOSAL FOR SUCH STUDY). GR NOTED THAT A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT STUDIES WERE BEING PROPOSED, AND HE THOUGHT IF IT WAS CLEAR THEY WOULD BE COMPLETED EXPEDITIOUSLY AND WERE NOT JUST A SUBSTITUTE FOR ACTION, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT ON SEVERAL THAT WOULD BE USEFUL. AMB ASHE CAUTIONED THAT THERE WOULD PROBABLY BE CONSIDERABLE NON-ALIGNED RESISTANCE.

7. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION OF PROBLEMS OF REDUCING CONVENTIONAL ARMS SALES, GR NOTED THAT THERE WAS NEED FOR SYSTEM FOR SOLVING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DISPUTES. A CIEC REVIVAL WAS NEEDED. HE HOPED SSOD MIGHT ACHIEVE

SOME PROGRESS IN NORTH-SOUTH UNDERSTANDING AS THIS COULD
LEAD TO PROGRESS ON DISARMAMENT. YOUNG

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